20c NOVEMBER 12, 1951

Truman and the Peace Proposals—page 5

New Republic

OUR NEW ROBBER BARONS

The Tax Thieves of 1951

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Letters

The Trenton Two

● In my article about the young Negroes in Trenton, N. J., who were railroaded to prison on a murder charge (*NR*, Oct. 22) I mentioned the names of several of the counsel who represented these young men at their second trial. Because I was pressed for space, I omitted the names of three other attorneys who should in justice have been included, retained by the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People: Raymond Pace Alexander, Clifford Moore and J. Mercer Burrell.

New York City BRUCE BLIVEN

● Herewith is a money order to aid in the defense of the Trenton Two. And may I congratulate the Joint Committee to Free the Trenton Two for its courageous fight in the interest of justice.

New York City ANDREW M. BURRIS

● I enclose a check as an expression of my great admiration for the courage and enterprise of the Joint Committee to Free the Trenton Two. Whatever is the matter with our nation that we are so ridden by prejudices? I am grateful to the Committee for taking on the burden of restitution.

Arlington, N. J. EVELYN HEARSEY PEAKE

● . . . More power to the Joint Committee to Free the Trenton Two, to the *New Republic*, to men like Bruce Bliven, Harold Ickes and others who at least try to accomplish something against rank injustice. Check enclosed.

MORRIS MANDEL

Brooklyn, New York City

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Modern Poetry

● The letters occasioned by Upton Sinclair's question about William Carlos Williams' poems (*NR*, Sept. 24) have been violently against modern poetry, with the exception of Albert Howard Carter's letter (*NR*, Oct. 8). Mr. Carter, I feel, has adequately answered Mr. Sinclair's specific questions. Remarks by some of the later correspondents, however, should not go unanswered.

Stanton A. Coblentz (*NR*, Oct. 8), William McFee (*NR*, Oct. 15), and S. Beryl Lush (*NR*, Oct. 22) seem to feel that all modern poets deliberately avoid rhyme, rhythm and melody. That is not true. Everyone who has read recent poets knows that since the spate of free verse in the 'teens and 'twenties the trend has been toward rhyme and rhythm. It takes only a cursory reading of poems by Karl Shapiro, Robert Lowell, Peter Viereck and most of the younger poets to perceive their careful attention to meter and their ingenuity and skill with rhyme. McFee singles out T. S. Eliot and W. H. Auden for special damnation. In Eliot we have some of the most subtle, most haunting, and most beautiful musical effects in English poetry; whereas in Auden we have ingenious and various uses of techniques and forms, new and old (note his ballads and sonnets), to match those of any poet of the past.

As for obscurity of meaning, it must be admitted that many modern poets push their experiments and idiosyncrasies too far, and many who appear in print are probably charlatans, riding on affectation and snob-appeal and driven by a desire to be "different." But some of the obscurity may result from a sincere effort to express the complexity of modern life with originality—an effort that sometimes fails. The best poetry of any age, moreover, is seldom "easy." A poet deals with thoughts, feelings, emotions that cannot be communicated fully in prose; the meaning of a good poem is never merely a literal one, and no prose paraphrase can substitute for the poem. The finer the poem the more fully it repays careful, serious and sympathetic study; many modern poems yield rich rewards from such attention. In short, it is wrong to condemn modern poetry as a whole because some of it is bad. Do we throw away Coleridge because his friend Southey was a poor poet? Do we discard "Tintern Abbey" because "Goody Blake and Harry Gill" is a bad poem?

In answer to the charge that only the "cliques" read modern poets, one may point to the increasing amount of this "obscure" poetry included in anthologies designed for college use and for the general reader. In several years of experience in teaching literature to college students, I have noted a growing receptivity to and understanding of the "moderns," particularly of Eliot. It is trite to point out that many great poets of the past were not appreciated in their own day.

There are two other points in the letters

(Continued on page 4)

Bandwagon

Paging Webster's Unabridged!

Senator McMahon suggested that that did not square with Taft's earlier comments in which he quoted the Ohioan as saying the war in Korea was "useless." Taft said he hadn't said any such thing, that he had said the war was "unnecessary." – *AP dispatch from Cincinnati.*

Lawmakers at Work

MR. BENDER: Mr. Speaker, if you can keep your head while others are losing theirs—maybe you do not understand the situation. – *Rep. George H. Bender (R, Ohio) as quoted in the* Congressional Record.

All God's Chillun Got Wheels

To attract young Presbyterians to Sunday school classes, he [the Rev. Harold J. Quigley] had a roller-skating rink built in the church basement. Donning shorts and a sweatshirt, he skated with the children and explained to them the value of a religious education. – *From the New York* Herald Tribune.

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New Republic

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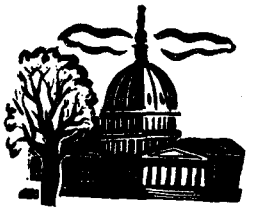
WASHINGTON WIRE

THERE'S BEEN coming and going. The Princess and Duke were here, all graciousness and accord, a curious kind of wooden smile on the face of the Princess which was probably imposed on her by hard years of tiresome training. We looked at it and kept wondering what sort of a person she was underneath. Probably a nice kid. She has been subjected to a terrible rush and came through the ordeal, we thought, admirably. She is a lot smaller than we imagined, in fact, petite. The Duke struck us as a lad who knew his stuff—who could handle affairs of state or breeze through a Kiwanis luncheon with equal aplomb.



Averell Harriman popped in and out. Now he's the head of the new Mutual Security Administration and is back in Europe working with Acheson to make a go of the big Paris General Assembly meeting.

Then came Ike's visit. The hair-raising thing these days is the speed of everything! The celebrities zoom in like comets and are gone again. Ike got more publicity in a couple of days than Taft has gotten in a month, but it wasn't all the kind that aids Presidential chances. The very fact of Ike's professional intimacy with Truman is used by enemies to argue that he would be just another "Me-too" President (unlike isolationist Taft). Senator Duff is going around trying to counter this by asserting how very "anti-New Deal" Ike really is. Ike keeps mum.

And now Truman himself is bound for Key West in a day or so. He is going down there to write his three big messages for Congress to be given, starting January 8. The advance tip is that he is going to throw the book at Congress—everything in the way of the Fair Deal and Social Welfare program ever recommended before is going to be dumped on the legislative lap in one big final showdown before election day. It is doubtful if Congress will do much even so; the rule is the reverse for sessions just before Presidential struggles.

One visitor hasn't shown up yet, but is to appear. That's Winston Churchill. The position of the stars makes his arrival almost certain. The old man is committed to one more try at direct negotiations with the Russians. Much will depend, of course, on what happens at the UN meeting in Paris. But Churchill is in a position to try to give the world a prod off dead-center. The State Department is afflicted with intellectual paralysis now when it comes to Russia; it is so punch drunk from attacks that it is wary of any effort at a settlement for fear of the terrible charge of "appeasement." Churchill can't be accused of being pro-Communist. Washington is cool to the idea of more negotiations. But once Korea is out of the way, something new could be started.

The Chinese don't want another winter of war in Korea. If we can work out the question of the release of UN prisoners, the phase of active hostilities there will almost certainly end. The two sides are so close together on the proposed truce line now that the issue of prisoners is probably a greater stumbling block to agreement. No Communist government has ever yet been willing to give up all its prisoners. The Korean War won't stop until this is settled.

A truce in Korea will just about break Taft's heart. He is committed to the thesis that anything short of a unified anti-Communist Korea is a defeat for America and merely shows that the UN (in his own words) is "a total failure." The contrary fact, that the UN has thrashed the first big effort at organized aggression since it was founded, will be evident, of course. But Taft has got to prove that white is black.

Last week we went up to see Frank McKinney installed as the new Demo-

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cratic National Chairman and have been brooding over it ever since. McKinney is a personable Irish-looking banker-sportsman-politician who is as much a protegé of the McHale machine of Indiana as Truman was of the Pendergast Missouri machine. McKinney said all the right things about cleaning the Democratic house and meeting the moral laxity issue. That, of course, was in reference to the outgoing chairman Boyle, who was on hand, along with smiling Max Siskind, Boyle's law partner, round whom most of the criticism centered. Later McKinney gave a press conference—said all the right things again, including the announcement that Truman would put the 64 Collectors of Internal Revenue under civil service. Right behind McKinney sat Boss McHale himself, whose Indiana machine is one of the most notorious in the business. We honestly don't know, in retrospect, what to think about it all. Only three weeks before, Truman, at a press conference, expressed hesitance over putting the collectors under civil service: something that obviously should have been done 50 years ago. Now, suddenly, he is for it. The McKinney speech against moral laxity was a fine speech; it is the one Truman should have made (and didn't) six months ago. It looks as though the Democratic bosses finally understood that the public is burned up over the RFC tax scandals. The tragedy is that Truman, for all his faults, carried the social-welfare banner and has had an excellent batting average on foreign affairs. Again and again, as the St. Louis *Post Dispatch* put it, he has been right where it would have been so easy to be wrong, and vice versa.

Notes: What the anti-Truman Dixiecrats really want is the restoration of Southern veto power over convention nominees through the requirement of a two-thirds majority qualification; FDR knocked out the "two-thirds rule" for majority rule in 1936. . . . The bad, old rule may be restored in 1952. . . . Ike's visit was to square European military planning with reality; the target of a 60-division force in Europe by 1954 seems out.

Washington T.R.B.

CORRESPONDENCE

(Continued from page 2)

that perhaps don't deserve answers. Mr. McFee makes the vitriolic assertion that modern poets aren't even talking to each other—"They hate each other." There may be an occasional misanthrope among the poets, as among men of any other calling—even among novelists; but one needs only a few meetings with poets or occasional correspondence with them or attendance at a few lectures or readings to realize how ill-natured and stupid Mr. McFee's statement is. Secondly, S. Beryl Lush seems not to know the difference between blank verse and free verse. Are we to consider the plays of Shakespeare, *Paradise Lost,* Tennyson's *Ulysses,* etc., etc., as coming from "the lazy drowsiness of a possibly great poet," as "poetic exercise, but never as a finished form of art"?

ROBERT V. BAUER
Pennsylvania State College, State College, Pa.

● I confess to puzzlement at your publication in the *New Republic* for October 22, 1951, of a letter signed "S. Beryl Lush" under the caption "Modern Poetry." . . .

Mr. Lush demonstrates his ignorance of the most elementary facts about poetry, in confusing blank verse (eminently ancient and respectable—a formal rhythmic pattern extensively used by the very poets he admires, particularly Shelley and Tennyson) with free verse, whose more subtle rhythmic patterns evidently escape him. We are asked to swallow the preposterous assertion: "The great poets have used the same metrical patterns through the ages." Even the most stolid anthology should reveal the changing fashions in metrical patterns within the same language culture, let alone "through the ages." And any collection of modern verse should demonstrate the extensive contemporary use of the traditional forms Mr. Lush professes to admire. Auden, for example, has regularly employed the sonnet, the rondeau and the rhymed quatrain. . . .

If Mr. Lush's statements here are a fair sample of his critical taste, his notions of rejected "imagery," "our terrible age of reality," the "never-ending delight of Swinburne," and the "immortal soundboard of our souls," which he has somehow got mixed up with nineteenth-century romantic poetry, are impoverished concepts. Traditionalism in poetry is defensible (I am a traditionalist myself), and certainly some modern poets make difficult and unsatisfying reading for many persons of discrimination and taste. But there is no excuse for the *New Republic* or anyone else to purvey such uninformed and sentimental drivel in the guise of a serious defense of poetry

BRUCE DEARING
Swarthmore College, Swarthmore, Pa.

The Strange Case of Louis Budenz

● I should like to comment briefly on a phrase in my article, "The Strange Case of Louis Budenz" (*NR,* Oct. 22), which may seem ambiguous.

I had written: "In his three articles, Alsop revealed that Louis Budenz, one-time managing editor of the *Daily Worker,* had apparently perjured himself in the course of his testimony to the McCarran Internal Security Subcommittee."

In the article as it was printed, however, the sentence reads, ". . . Budenz, one-time managing editor of the *Daily Worker, whose conscience led him to renounce the Communist Party for the Catholic Church,* had apparently perjured himself, etc."

I did not write the portion italicized and had no knowledge of it before it appeared in print, which is quite understandable in a weekly newsmagazine working close to deadlines.

The purpose of the addition, I understand, was to draw attention to the conscience of Mr. Budenz and not to the standards of the Catholic Church. As a practicing Catholic, it seems to me that this point is worth clearing up since the sentence might be misunderstood.

Washington, D. C. WILLIAM V. SHANNON

McIckes

● My God, that "McIckes" man! I sometimes think it is the best literary imagination since Joyce.

Harrison, N. Y. MAXWELL GEISMAR

Computers Instead of Congressmen

● . . . T.R.B. says the decisive factor in the Truman defeat on controls was public apathy. I humbly suggest a remedy, another type of Washington wire. Leading in all directions from a giant electric computer in the District of Columbia would be one wire for each registered voter. These wires would terminate in switchboards located geographically available to all and would be manned 24 hours a day. Any time a bill came up to a vote the populace would be asked to punch their buttons. Congress would then know the public will, and apathy would be made unnecessary.

I suggest that this network be constructed when and if fearful peace is declared, thus taking up some of the slack in employment.

My plant would eventually replace all Congressmen—except a few for investigations—with computers.

Springfield, Ore. ROBERT BIGGER SMITH

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VOLUME 126, NUMBER 20, ISSUE 1928, WASHINGTON, D. C., NOVEMBER 12, 1951 **New Republic**

PEACE OFFENSIVES OR PEACE TALKS?

PRESIDENT TRUMAN'S speech and the proposals of the US delegation to the UN Assembly in Paris shift our policy to one of seeking every opportunity for negotiation with our enemy, while we build strength.

The purpose of this initiative is to retain political leadership in the Cold War rather than to end the Cold War by agreement. Its origin is fear that Stalin intends to promote political warfare by insincere peace proposals rather than a belief that he sincerely seeks a basis for peace.

But what if our proposals should meet with a genuine response?

Since the Cold War broke in full force we have acted on the assumption that building strength and negotiating with our enemy were incompatible courses. Our policy of arming first and talking later was summed up facetiously in a story told recently by a high government official. *What must we do before we're saved?*, the Sunday school teacher asked her class. The class shouted back, *We gotta sin!*

There is a danger that negotiations will distract us from the costly and painful tasks of survival. In this nation, at least, it is a minor threat. Both major parties are by now committed to a defense program of unparalleled size in peacetime. It will be cut back by negotiations only if they yield agreements that reduce the threat of war.

For Europe, where the belief clings that negotiation *is* an alternative to building strength, the danger is greater.

Now, but, we believe it is more than offset by the moral strength gained by those who actively seek out a basis for peace. Yet if the West proves able simultaneously to negotiate and to build strength, the underlying conflict between peace through strength and peace through agreement remains unresolved.

Formerly our policy was to achieve situations of strength and, from them, to press for agreements to be reached largely on our terms. Today we have not reached a situation of military strength, and politically we are still shaky in Europe and weak in the Near East and Asia. At any time it has seemed to us doubtful that, once we achieved superior strength, the Russians would capitulate. But today they will certainly not yield to our terms.

Agreements reached today will be compromises, not victories. So the question becomes: On what do we compromise?

Here it seems to us that there is a clear distinction between actions we take to build strength *in relation to Russia* and actions to build strength *that are part of the continuing development of democracy.* Rearmament is of the first kind; the Point-Four program, the second. Obviously we would give up our rearmament program if workable controls could be established. Therefore the rearmament program is a subject for compromise. Obviously we could not give up our efforts to raise world living standards as part of a compromise if the Russians indicate their desire to keep living standards in non-Communist countries low.

In the same category as the Point-Four concept we place two other major enterprises of the US: the strengthening of the United Nations and the achievement of European Federation. We are not going to agree with Russia to keep the UN permanently weak. Nor can we agree to keep Europe permanently divided when division is the cause of Europe's misery and decay. Neither program threatens Russian security. Both are part of an effort to secure the future of democracy, and that we cannot yield in order to gain some other concession.

This distinction, it seems to us, is indispensable in any analysis of the two major items on President Truman's agenda of negotiation: Germany and the control of armaments.

In the case of Germany, the long-range objective of the West, which transcends the Cold War, is the development of democracy in Germany and the integration of Germany in Western Europe. The Russians and their East German puppets have fought a delaying action against this program in the belief that, if it can be delayed long enough, the Germans will abandon their hopes of becoming Europeans and democrats and will turn toward nationalism, revolution and orientation to the East.

The Russians have proved that they will carry on an all-out propaganda campaign on German unity. They have not shown any sign that they will, in fact, surrender control of East Germany. The program they claim to hold now, and are likely to advance in Paris, includes

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unification, the withdrawal of troops, a peace treaty and four-power control. This amounts to a return to Potsdam, and the West has replied that Potsdam was an interim arrangement now dead since German independence prohibits any return to four-power control.

The US will counter in Paris by proposing that a UN commission be sent to Germany to determine whether conditions exist in which free elections could be carried out. This is not an offer to compromise but the pressing of a principle which the Russians seem certain to reject. For them a surrender of full sovereignty over Eastern Germany is negotiable only as part of a settlement splitting all Germany off from Europe and the West. That, by our definition, is not a matter for negotiation.

The issue which can and should be reconsidered is German rearmament. On this issue reconsideration is necessary quite apart from Soviet intentions and fears. The prospect of rearmament has caused a profound and disturbing shock in Germany. Meanwhile divisions are being called up in France for which there are no arms. Our deliveries of armaments and European arms production are lagging. Eisenhower is here to propose a scaling down of plans. For many reasons the German contingents should be scaled down first. But this is not a matter for negotiation or bargaining since, if negotiations failed, the rearmament of Germany would necessarily follow.

The control of armaments is the second major issue on the agenda of negotiation. Here the US position, as we understand it, is to add to the Baruch plan new proposals to combine the UN commissions on atomic weapons and conventional weapons and to carry out a world census of armaments, called "the heart of the peace plan."

The Baruch plan, we believe, is clearly obsolete, and at first sight the combining of two UN commissions to consider the Baruch plan is therefore futile. But this is not entirely true. The UN nations which support the Baruch plan cannot easily abandon it as long as atomic weapons alone are to be controlled. But, if a more general, less ambitious plan can be prepared to cover all armaments, then within this framework the unattainable sections of the Baruch plan concerning UN ownership and operation of atomic energy can be scaled down to realistic and workable proposals for inspection and a gradual and controlled reduction of armaments.

The proposal for an arms census has already been praised by many newspapers as unacceptable to the Russians. Certainly the Russians have more to lose by such a census than we do. Our forces and armaments, with the exception of our stockpile of atomic bombs, are accounted for every day in our free press. In contrast, most Soviet military information is held secret. If our stockpile of bombs is divulged, that might provide us with a formidable psychological advantage. But Russia can only lose by relating her progress to date.

A census on balance seems to be a Soviet concession, which we must meet with concessions if we are serious in seeking agreement at a time when the heart of agreement is compromise. We can make concessions on additional rearmament if peace can be maintained by a rough balance of military power or by disarmament. We can, in another field, recognize realities in China if recognition is not made part of a Korean settlement. But, either way, sane concessions on our side are the price of agreement. If we are ready today to compromise when compromise is possible, our proposals may lead to peace talks. If we are not ready, they will form another peace offensive, and no more.

THE WEEK

MACHIAVELLI AT CAIRO

One by one the Egyptian Government is applying the more sinister and subtle techniques Machiavelli recommended to Princes having more cunning than power. But alas, King Farouk's ministers possess few more of the requisites for modern statesmanship than he does. Their attempt to foster an alliance with the Kremlin ranks among the more ludicrous instances of amateurish international blackmail.

The picture of the Mufti of Jerusalem calling for a non-aggression pact with the Soviet Union, as he did recently before a Cairo nationalist group, is a fantastic one. But the proposed trade agreement which emerged from an hour's talk between the Egyptian Foreign Minister and the Soviet Ambassador is no less so. Even if sea traffic between Odessa and Alexandria were suddenly to blossom, a shift of economic affiliation would force the Egyptians to sacrifice their huge sterling balances in London. And with the rest of the world backing Britain through choice or similarity of interests, Egypt would find all her normal political and economic relations disrupted.

Far from winning control of the Suez and the Sudan, the Egyptians are only miring themselves deeper into an impossible situation. Egypt's refusal to join the proposed Middle East Defense Command has cost her the last chance to gain prestige through an evolutionary process. Her attempt to lead an Arab revolution against Western hegemony in the area is handicapped by facts such as that no one in the Egyptian Air Force

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knows how to fly any of 25 recently acquired jet planes The West undoubtedly can pull Egypt's fangs by driving her into economic and political bankruptcy. The chances for a more far-sighted solution of the conflict now appears unlikely .

THE GERMAN DOLDRUMS

The West's attempt to bring Germany into a close political and military alliance continues to come up against a well-organized Communist campaign of threat and suasion which plays a tune to which German hearts vibrate. Although the East Germans have failed so far to get the Bonn Parliament to respond to their "unity" serenade to the point of committing itself to a joint meeting, their overtures continue to be entertained. Sure that the Western suitor will always be around, German political groups like the Social Democrats and the rightist Free Democrats are pressing Chancellor Konrad Adenauer to keep the door to the East open. To even the most convinced anti-Communist German, the hope of unifying Germany is a tempting day-dream.

It was against such an indecisive background that Adenauer last week, at long last, initialed the "contractual" agreement with the West which will remove the occupation status. The result of years of compromise, the new contract gives sovereignty to the Germans, reserving only four military and political areas in which the West retains final power. The "contract" is only the first step toward the hoped-for system of integration with Western Europe, but even it faces a tough fight before the Bonn Parliament and public opinion. Kurt Schumacher, anxious to topple Adenauer, has cried out that the Chancellor is surrendering German interest to the West. Organized German Protestantism, unhappy over Catholic dominance in the present Federal Republic, has come out in support of pressing for unification with the largely Protestant Eastern sections.

The West, on the defensive in this political battle, is biding its time. The United States is likely to move that the UN Assembly consider Adenauer's request for a UN investigating commission to study political conditions in both West and East Germany. But Western diplomats recognize that the Russians are hell-bent to keep Germany out of a Western alliance. Their puppet, East German President Wilhelm Pieck, has already made a counter proposal to the UN plan. He wants "four-power supervision" of German elections, reviving this futile formula of 1946-47. Eisenhower has learned not to count his German divisions till they are hatched.

NIMITZ AND LaFOLLETTE

Subversive activities are Senator McCarran's business, and one by one the legitimate government agencies concerned with the problem are being forced to knuckle under to him. During recent weeks McCarran has won two signal victories. For one, he forced President Truman to abolish the Nimitz Review Board for lack of the necessary enabling legislation from McCarran's Judiciary Committee. For another, he forced the withdrawal from the Subversive Activities Control Board of Charles LaFollette, its acting head and by far its most able and independent member. LaFollette was forced out when the Judiciary Committee let his recess appointment expire.

The SACB, the agency entrusted with determining which groups are "subversive" under the McCarran Act, is currently in the seventh month of hearing the government case against the Communist Party. Its status has declined continually. First, Seth Richardson, its Republican chairman, quit in disgust at McCarran's tactics. Then LaFollette was forced publicly to accuse his fellow board member, Peter Campbell Brown, a former Justice Department employee, of indiscriminately upholding the poorly prepared government case. Now LaFollette has quit, and Brown is acting chairman of the group, which now has only three members. The possibility that President Truman can persuade any able men to accept appointments to the vacant positions is slim. If Chester Nimitz, Seth Richardson and Charles LaFollette were defeated by the power-mad Nevada legislator, who has a chance of standing up to him?

THE POPE ON BIRTH CONTROL

A few days ago the American press blossomed out with headlines suggesting that Pope Pius XII had attacked the "rhythm method" of birth control. Careful examination of the articles printed under these headlines showed that they were rather too strong. What the Pope said boils down to the statement that the main purpose of marriage is to have and bring up children, and that nothing must be allowed to interfere with that purpose. He left so many loopholes to his remarks, however, that there is strong doubt whether they will have any practical effect.

For about 20 years, the Catholic Church has approved some degree of family limitation based on the scientific fact that a woman cannot conceive except for a period of two or three days halfway between the beginning of one menstrual period and the next. Books have been published with Catholic approval explaining this fact, and calendars have been sold to aid Catholic women in determining the "safe" part of their monthly cycle. This system is far inferior to the mechanical and chemical devices employed by non-Catholics. The best that can be said for it is that it is better than no control at all.

Apparently some Catholics have become alarmed at the very rapid growth of this practice, and the Pope's recent speech was intended to remind the faithful that the rhythm method is intended to space out the birth of children, not to permit couples to go childless. As a matter of fact, the attitude toward birth control of Roman Catholics in any country tends to go with the culture of that country, not with a rigid interpretation of the teachings of the Catholic Church.

The Roman Catholic Church has survived over the centuries by shrewdly modifying its doctrines from time to time when the advance of civilization made such modification necessary or, at least, desirable. It is safe to assume that this process will be continued, and it will be applied to the urgent world problem of having too many people for the natural resources which are available.

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Outside America

FRANCE LOOKS AT CHURCHILL

The typically English mode of thought and expression is supposed to find a characteristic and authentic mouthpiece, beyond partisan politics, in the calm and measured prose of the London *Times* whose editorials are deemed to be singularly free, even under the stress of political passion, from the flaw of repetitious overstatement. Yet the *Times*, in its editorial comment on the result of the election which brought Winston Churchill back to Number 10 Downing Street, expressed the same idea in almost the same words no less than four times in a space of little more than a single column of type.

> The new government has been returned by the electors to govern. . . . Their first duty is to govern. . . . Let it be known that they intend to govern. . . . The return of a Conservative government with a majority which entitles and obliges it to govern. . . .

The *Sunday Times* headed its comment, "Now, good government." The *Observer*, speaking more plainly, said, "Strong government is an essential in the circumstances." More important among these circumstances is that "the world is an American-centered and American-led world." Hence, the explanation of the need to govern—and strongly—is that "we have to accept the climate that is made in America."

The French, whose typical modes of thought and expression are different from those of the English, agreed—in their way—that it might take strong (or four times stressed) British Government to get the British people to accept a made-in-America political climate. They noted moreover that, although the new British Government has at least a half-dozen interesting characteristics, only a couple of them are likely to be helpful toward getting this acceptance. The other four tend to make the new political climate in England more like the one in various Western European lands and, hence, more difficult for any kind of government, whether it be strong or otherwise.

On the one hand, Churchill is almost certain to get a better hearing in Washington and will (presumably) have advantages in getting for the British people the help they need if they are to take longer and faster strides toward fulfilling their part in Atlantic rearmament. Moreover, Churchill and Anthony Eden are likely to win American favor by cooperating more wholeheartedly toward the making of a more united and stronger Western Europe.

On the other hand, however, as the *Monde* of Paris pointed out, Britain no longer escapes from the unpleasant political effects of a political situation already well and unpleasantly known in continental Western Europe — public opinion is split into two almost equal parts. Moreover, as several other French newspapers noted, the new British Government resembles governments in continental Western Europe in two other ways. It is in power (as are the governments of France and Italy) by virtue of a minority of popular votes, and (as is also the case in France and Italy) it gives no direct or adequate representation to the working classes as such. Finally—and this is a point emphasized by French newspapers ranging from the official Communist *Humanité* to the semi-official Gaullist *Aurore*—Churchill faces in the strengthening of the Bevanites an exacerbation of the non-Communist but also non-American Left, which has already been complicating the task of government in other Western European countries.

Guy Mollet of the French Socialist Party (which will now, at least partly as a result of the British election, stay out of the Pleven Government) made the following statement:

> The setback of the Labour Party will be cruelly felt by the whole international Socialist movement. Great Britain in its turn has now been reached by the wave of reaction and of social conservatism which has swept away most of Europe's Socialist governments.

Marcel Gimont in the Leftist *Combat* predicted that the Tory Young Turks will try to get Churchill to woo the Labour Old Guard away from Bevan and into a "national union." Their effort, he said, corresponds to the wishes of SHAPE where, "as everyone knows, General Eisenhower is letting the impossible Mr. Taft discredit himself in a premature race for the White House before himself posing his candidacy amid universal enthusiasm." Thus, the new situation in Britain "is not very different from the one in France and elsewhere in Europe. In France, too, highly placed persons, especially those deeply involved in Atlantic policy, are also trying to make cuts in the French Socialist Party."

The far Right *Figaro* commented:

> Loyalty, clarity, stability, continuity—these are the traits of English political life despite the competition of parties. Would that we could say as much for ours!

In general, such leaders of the Right as Paul Reynaud and Secretary-General Terrenoire of the Gaullist RPF were delighted, and newspapers of the Right looked for British "national union" in favor of Atlanticism and Europism. Equally generally, newspapers of the Left sought comfort in afterthoughts. Under the heading "Pyrrhic," Charles Ronsac wrote in the *Franc-Tireur*:

> Labour remains the most powerful and influential of British parties. It got the most votes, its average majority in the constituencies was largest, and it keeps the full confidence of the British workers.

But the Monde wondered if Aneurin Bevan "was not the real winner"; the even more conservative *Parisien Libere* thought Labour would be stronger in opposition than it has been in government; the *Liberation*, which travels with Communism, believed Labour, in opposition, would move toward the Left, and the Communist *Humanité* wrote:

> Bevan is a demagogue of the worst kind but his relative victory within the Labour Party is very significant. . . The working class make-up of the Party may force its leaders to adopt—at least in words—an anti-American and anti-imperialist policy.

Paris PERCY WINNER

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THE TAX THIEVES OF 1951

by Helen Fuller

ANDREW W. MELLON "planned, schemed, contrived and devised a comprehensive scheme and plan of tax evasions and tax avoidance while he held the office of the Secretary of the Treasury of the US." That was the charge of the Treasury Department when Mellon left. Treasury officials claimed that Mellon defrauded the government of about $2 million in taxes owed by him for 1931, his final year as Secretary. Mellon answered simply that he had computed his own return. He added: "The result was what I think was a fair amount for me to have paid the government in that year."

No such bald-faced admission has come from the big and little crooks caught in the exposures of corruption in the Bureau of Internal Revenue. But these men have grown rich by plundering the Treasury, just as Mellon, Jay Gould and Collis Huntington grew rich by plundering our natural resources in the Robber Baron Days. Their methods are those once used by Mellon.

In the Era of Normalcy, as one historian of the period records, "the flowers of federal spending attracted the bees," even as they do today. "Men brought other men money in little black bags, paid their hotel bills, sent them cases of liquor or bevies of women, gave them Liberty Bonds." Gifts from the government to the favored few from "the greatest Santa Claus in History," as Sam Rayburn dubbed Andy Mellon, "took the form of tax refunds in accordance with esoteric regulations evolved by officials of the Bureau [of Internal Revenue]. A surprising number of the men who drafted the rules retired quickly to become highly fee-ed advisers on tax matters, and their pleadings won for their clients more than a billion dollars in refunds."

Democratic office-holders in recent years have taken a large leaf from that Republican book. While Henry Morgenthau Jr., as Secretary of the Treasury, supervised the Internal Revenue System, our tax-collection machinery appears to have been free from taint. Franklin Roosevelt followed the sound principle that the two most sensitive points in government are where taxes are collected and criminals brought to justice. While he could he kept an eye on the Department of Justice and the Bureau of Internal Revenue. It was only toward the end of Roosevelt's third term, when war took all his energies, that his vigilance slackened. Then, late in 1943, when the long-time Revenue Commissioner Guy T. Helvering retired to a seat on the federal bench, Roosevelt allowed the Chairman of the Democratic National Committee, Frank C. Walker, to pick the new Commissioner.

Sen. Bennett Champ Clark and his junior colleague from Missouri, Sen. Harry S. Truman, had a candidate.

The Missouri Democratic organization was in a sad state at that time as a result of an unsuccessful attempt to "steal" the governorship from Republican Forrest C. Donnell. That effort had wrecked the Dickmann-Hannegan St. Louis machine, and ward-heeler Robert E. Hannegan had been bailed out with an appointment as local Collector of Internal Revenue. This step was taken over the violent protest of the St. Louis *Post-Dispatch*, which called it "an affront to thousands." Advancement of Hannegan to an important national post was a means of bringing credit to the discredited machine, and in true clan spirit, Senators Clark and Truman urged Hannegan on Walker.

Walker agreed, and the trail of the tax scandals now in the headlines leads back to Hannegan's appointment as US Revenue Commissioner in October, 1943.

The young Missouri Irishman was the most energetic politician to hit Washington since Jim Farley. He set about reorganizing the Bureau, which he said had a "bad case of hardening of the arteries." Helvering, an old-fashioned politician, had run the Revenue organization in strait-laced style, with Morgenthau always peeping over his shoulder. Hannegan, knowing more about patronage than public service, began to reshape the Bureau in his own image. Every one of the eight most notorious characters in the current exposés concerning the tax bureau—James Smyth of San Francisco, Norman Collison of Delaware, James Finnegan of St. Louis, Denis Delaney of Massachusetts, Joseph Marcelle, J. B. E. Olson and James Johnson of New York—were named to their jobs in the two years after Hannegan took office.

Hannegan had maintained a private law practice on the side while serving as St. Louis tax collector, and he actually encouraged his new collectors to do the same thing, one of them has testified. Hannegan saw nothing wrong in that. To him it seemed natural to encourage the closest kind of ties between the Collectors' Offices and the various State Democratic organizations. He was in a key position to offer favors in the boom years of war, and the friendships which he formed with wealthy taxpayers made him potentially very valuable to those who had the responsibility for financing and directing Roosevelt's fourth-term campaign.

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In that year the Democratic Party needed a new manager. Frank Walker, and his predecessor as Chairman, Bronx Boss Ed Flynn, decided that Hannegan was the man to raise funds to match the lavishly financed Republican campaign that could be expected in 1944. So Hannegan became National Democratic Chairman. However, the continuity of his policies at the Bureau was unbroken. He personally selected Joseph D. Nunan Jr. to take over. Nunan, who had become Revenue Collector for the First District of New York after being defeated as a State Senator, also was experienced as an organization man and Democratic fund-raiser.

The Hannegan-Nunan team worked as smoothly in Washington as the Dickmann-Hannegan combination had worked in St. Louis. The full extent to which contributors to Democratic campaign funds, nationally and in the states, received special treatment in tax matters is impossible to determine.

Perhaps much will be revealed as the King subcommittee pursues its investigation of the Bureau. But favors can take so many forms and political finances keep so close to the walls of back alleys that we may never know how much Hannegan's experience in tax collection contributed to the building of Democratic campaign bankrolls.

In 1947 Hannegan left Washington to become president of the St. Louis Cardinals and pursue other business connections he had made since coming to Washington; Nunan resigned to establish what is thought to be one of the most lucrative tax practices in the East. Revenue Bureau files indicate that George J. Schoeneman, who was then appointed Commissioner, was the Nunan-Hannegan choice. The machinery they had established over the previous four years continued to function. Schoeneman, liked and respected in Washington as an honest gentleman, was reluctant to question the activities of the local collectors. He appears, from the record, to have been overly gentle in dealing with misconduct in the Bureau. For by then, minor officials in the organization keyed their morals to the lowering of standards set by their superiors. The ablest officials of the Bureau had left the service for the much higher pay available outside. And a great many of those who remained had done so because they were approaching pension age and hoped soon to retire. Those in this group were inclined to be timid and compromising in their handling of cases in order to run no risk of jeopardizing their status.

Unprincipled businessmen and gangsters alike sensed the new opportunities for corruption and plied Bureau employees, hard hit by inflation, with attractive presents. Technically reputable tax lawyers, consultants and accountants devised new techniques of legal evasion for their clients. The Administration took almost no notice until the one-man crusade of Sen. John J. Williams (R, Del.) against the Bureau, and the investigation by a special House Subcommittee on Administration of the Internal Revenue Laws, under Rep. Cecil King (D, Calif.), brought out facts which forced it to act.

Last July, Schoeneman was permitted to resign on grounds of ill health. Since then, the Administration has slowly roused itself to the burgeoning tax scandal. John B. Dunlap, the new Commissioner, an energetic career man, formerly the collector in Dallas, is under instructions from President Truman to "clean up the situation."

The "situation" he faces is indeed a dreadful one. In less than 10 years the Bureau of Internal Revenue has degenerated from one of the points of pride in federal administration into a chaotic organization. Taxpayers find it difficult to do even routine business with the Bureau in the current atmosphere of confusion and suspicion. There is grave fear in government of the effect which further disclosures of crookedness may have on the willingness of millions of citizens to pay taxes they owe their country.

The Republicans see in the present scandals a sure-fire campaign issue for 1952. The Democrats are understandably torn between driving to secure a basic function of government and endeavoring to shovel earth over the political roots of the scandal that has brought shame onto our government today. A few weeks ago President Truman was cool toward the suggestion that Revenue Collectors be brought under Civil Service. At the request of the new Democratic National Chairman, Frank McKinney, he has agreed to ask Congress to do so. But the Senate is not likely to give up its power to name Revenue employees easily.

In 1903, when Lincoln Steffens was reporting on the "cohesive power of public plunder," he commented that "reform with us is usually revolt, not government, and is soon over." The Republicans will contend that the answer to the tax scandals is merely to vote the Democratic rascals out. But without basic and continuing reform, a change of administration would insure only a change in the cast of characters in the present tragedy. The first step toward curing the illness in our tax-collection system is to understand the nature of the disease and to discover the ways in which it has spread across the nation.

In the pages that follow, and in successive stories during the next few weeks, the *New Republic* will present the facts in detail. A few weeks hence, we shall outline, as we see them, the steps which must be taken to restore integrity in the federal tax service.

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THE TRAIL OF THE TAX THIEVES

by Lorraine Nelson

CLOUDS of scandal and corruption hang heavily over the Bureau of Internal Revenue in five major American cities, and ominous signs have appeared in two others. Six collectors have been ousted, and two have since been indicted by federal grand juries. More than a dozen lesser employees have also been indicted—most of them have been convicted—and many others have been suspended and are now under investigation. City by city, here are the highlights of the spreading tax scandal:

WILMINGTON, DEL., 1946-47

Shortly after taking his seat in the Senate in 1947, John Williams, a Millsboro, Del., grain dealer, was notified that his business firm was delinquent on its taxes. Convinced that the charge was false, Williams stormed to the office of Wilmington Collector Norman Collison. After proving that his firm was not delinquent Williams set out to learn how the error could have occurred. He soon discovered that a cashier in the collector's office, a long-time employee named Maurice A. Flynn, had been tampering with the accounts, embezzling funds as they arrived to pay tax bills and falsely billing other taxpayers for delinquencies in order to cover up the shortages. It ultimately developed that Flynn's take was over $30,000, and that some 500 taxpayers had been falsely billed.

Williams discovered further that the Bureau in Washington had learned the previous year that Flynn's accounts were in a deplorable state but had done nothing; that Collison had been informed of shortages in Flynn's accounts some six months before he reported the fact to Washington; and that during this six-month period, Flynn engaged in additional speculations. It was only after Williams told this story on the Senate floor in December, 1947, that steps were finally taken to bring Flynn (who by then had been fired) to trial. He pleaded guilty to embezzlement charges in January, 1948, and was sentenced to four years in jail. Collector Collison retired on a government pension in 1950.

SAN FRANCISCO, CALIF., 1950-51

In November, 1950, the Kefauver Committee went to California, where it was greeted by the release of the final report of the California Study Commission on Organized Crime—a blistering document charging that Revenue officials in California connived with racketeers and criminals, protecting them from tax prosecutions, and engaged in shaking down persons involved in tax delinquencies and frauds. The hearings that followed developed the initial installments of a story which, if it is ever completed, may rock the foundations of the Democratic Party. The story centers around the office of San Francisco Collector James Smyth, a Democratic wheelhorse and campaign manager for ex-Sen. Sheridan Downey.

The star witness was William A. Burkett, a former agent in the San Francisco office of the Bureau's Special Intelligence Unit, who had resigned in protest against what he termed the "pigeonholing" of his reports on personnel in the Smyth office. This was his story:

In 1947, Ernest M. "Mike" Schino, chief field deputy in Smyth's collection district, conspired with his opposite number in the Reno, Nev., district, Patrick Mooney Sr. (since retired), to fix the case of Mrs. Gertrude Jenkins. Mrs. Jenkins, a convicted abortionist, was being investigated for tax evasion. She was importuned to invest $5,000 in Mooney's company, the Mountain City Consolidated Copper Co., a mining enterprise that did not mine. She invested. In return, Schino was to procure for Mrs. Jenkins the services of Joseph T. Higgins, presently a New York lawyer and a former collector for the third New York district. (Higgins, who has denied any part in the deal, is also a former sheriff of New York County, and one-time fund raiser for the Democratic National Committee.) As it turned out, no one was able to fix Mrs. Jenkins' affairs, and she ended in jail.

W. D. Malloy, Collector Smyth's field deputy in Salinas, Calif., received a $500 bribe from Anna "Tugboat Annie" Schultz, a Salinas "madam," while she was under investigation in 1946 for possible income-tax evasion. After exposure of the incident by the Special Intelligence Unit, Malloy was merely reprimanded and required to return the money. He was then transferred to Smyth's staff in San Francisco.

Collector Smyth testified at length, defending both Schino and Malloy. Smyth's own qualifications for office, and his conduct of the collector's job, were challenged by Sen. Charles Tobey who made the charges:

That, by his own admission, Smyth was either delinquent or obtained extensions on his 1944 and 1945 tax returns, that his tax file had been marked, "Send no bill," and initialed by Paul V. Doyle, chief deputy collector.

That he was appointed Collector on the recommendation of former Senator Downey over the adverse recommendation of the Special Intelligence Unit, which had investigated his personal affairs.

That two of Smyth's deputies, Paul V. Doyle and John A. Malone, a brother of William A. Malone, chairman of the San Francisco Democratic County Committee, were

Lorraine Nelson, a Washington newspaper woman, was formerly on the staff of the Atlanta Constitution.

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instrumental in collecting $10,000 from "touchy" tax people for a mysterious welfare fund, the uses of which Smyth never officially questioned.

In Washington, Commissioner Schoeneman first belittled Burkett's charges as "the unverified mumblings of a disgruntled former employee." Later, he reconsidered and suspended Schino and finally removed Malloy.

While the Bureau did not follow up the revelations concerning Smyth, a federal grand jury in San Francisco took up the case in March, 1951.

Indictments were returned in April, 1951, against Schino and Mooney, on charges arising out of Mrs. Jenkins' case. A successor grand jury then took up the task of examining Smyth and his staff concerning other irregularities.

During the course of the grand jury's deliberations, William Malone, the San Francisco Democratic boss, made repeated trips to Washington to urge Administration officials to refrain from taking action against Smyth until they learned what, if anything, the grand jury would do. But Commissioner Dunlap decided to act. On September 27, ten months after the Kefauver Committee first brought the San Francisco story to light, Smyth and one-third of his top-level assistants, plus two other lesser employees, were suspended.

ST. LOUIS, MO., 1950-51

The case of Collector James P. Finnegan has been publicized but it is worth docketing the salient facts.

April-May, 1950—Complaints against Finnegan's office are registered with the Justice Department; investigation is instituted.

August, 1950—Secretary Snyder says he asked Finnegan to resign.

October, 1950—Finnegan telephones President Truman in Key West, Fla., stating he wants to resign, but is asked by the President to "stay on."

The Tax Drama: the Cast to Date

Indicted and Sentenced. Collector's office, Wilmington, Del: *Maurice A. Flynn*, pleaded guilty in January, 1948, to embezzlement of over $30,000, sentenced to serve four years in jail.

Collector's office, New York Third District: *Abraham Meller*, removed January, 1947, on charges of solicitation and acceptance of bribe, sentenced to two years and fined $10,000.

Jesse Miller, removed January, 1947, for the same reason, sentenced to six months.

Julius J. Friedman, removed October, 1946, indicted on charges of demanding and accepting bribe, received suspended sentence and three years' probation.

James A. Bessell, removed August, 1949, for solicitation and acceptance of bribe, put on probation 10 years.

William A. Ganey, removed May, 1950, sentenced to two and a half years and fined $14,350.

Anthony V. Fiscella, removed May, 1950, sentenced to two and a half years and fined $2,500.

John A. Galgano, removed May, 1950, on charges of bribery, sentenced to two years (suspended) and fined $2,850.

Thomas J. Cannon, removed May, 1950, on charges of demanding and accepting a sum of money, sentenced to 18 months, fined $2,500.

Indicted. *Denis W. Delaney*, Collector of Internal Revenue, Boston, Mass., fired in July, 1951, and indicted by Boston federal grand jury in September for bribery and false certification of tax payments, and now slated for immediate trial.

James P. Finnegan, Collector of Internal Revenue, St. Louis, Mo., resigned under fire April, 1951, indicted October 11 by St. Louis federal grand jury for taking bribes and representing a law client in a suit against the government.

Collector's office, San Francisco, Calif.: *Ernest M. "Mike" Schino*, chief field-deputy, fired February, 1951, indicted by San Francisco federal grand jury in April, 1950, on charges of complicity in sale of worthless stock to a woman involved in tax difficulties.

Collector's office, Reno, Nev.: *Patrick Mooney Sr.*, chief field-deputy (until his retirement in 1948), indicted along with Schino on same charges.

Arrested But Not Indicted. Collector's office, New York Third District: *Sidney Jacobs*, deputy collector, arrested June on charges of defrauding the government of $40,000.

Mrs. Ann Brooks McAdoo Serge, an auditor, arrested along with Jacobs, on same charge.

Suspended Pending Investigations. *James Smyth*, Collector of Internal Revenue, San Francisco, Calif., suspended September, 1951, pending an investigation of his competency.

Also suspended, pending investigations of their competency, were the following members of Smyth's staff:

Paul V. Doyle, chief deputy collector.

John A. Malone, assistant chief of the income-tax division and brother of William A. Malone, chairman of the San Francisco Democratic County Committee.

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January, 1951—Special Intelligence Agent R. Hartmann interviews J. M. Brodsky, St. Louis insurance agent, and reports to the Bureau: (a) Brodsky stated that Finnegan furnished him with a list of prospective insurance customers composed of persons in tax difficulties; and (b) Brodsky admitted paying Finnegan large sums of money for "legal services."

February, 1951—Robert L. Sharp, former Special Intelligence Agent, presents charges to Federal District Judge George H. Moore that St. Louis lawyers are able to "fix" tax cases through Finnegan's office. Judge Moore seeks to convene a special grand jury, but local District Attorney Drake Watson advises he can't get necessary Washington clearance to present tax cases. Judge Moore telephones Attorney General J. Howard McGrath in Washington, who promises co-operation. But nothing further is heard from McGrath. Judge Moore delivers an ultimatum that the grand jury will proceed, with or without co-operation of the Justice Department. The Department thereupon "agrees" to let Watson proceed.

March 14, 1951—The grand jury promptly issues a preliminary report, vindicating all concerned.

April, 1951—Finnegan resigns, President Truman accepting "with reluctance." Secretary Snyder writes Senator Williams that the resignation was purely voluntary and that there is nothing wrong in Finnegan's office.

May, 1951—Judge Moore reconvenes the grand jury, indicating his belief that the US Attorney's office induced the grand jury to act hastily. In Washington, Senator Williams charges that Justice or Treasury withheld evidence that compromised Finnegan. Citing this hitherto secret evidence, Williams reveals that Finnegan made $6,000 on his insurance dealings with Brodsky, received compensation from the American Lithofold Corporation while it was seeking a loan from the RFC and was paid to press a claim of the Warwick Operating Company against the government. He offers to provide the file numbers of these reports for the grand jury.

June 20, 1951—Schoeneman resigns "with regret" on grounds of ill health.

John F. Boland, chief field-deputy.

David F. Cunningham, deputy collector.

Martin J. Tierney, chief of the wage and excise-tax division.

Ignatius A. Beresford, assistant chief of the wage and excise-tax division.

The following members of Smyth's office were suspended pending investigations of another nature:

Dorothy C. Frisbie, an auditor, who confessed to embezzlement of $5,000 from the Federal Credit Union.

Edwin M. Furtado, chief of the accounts section in the wage and excise-tax division, who confessed to back-dating receipts of tax returns to obviate interest penalties for certain taxpayers.

Income Tax Unit, Newark, N. J., division office: *Walter Doxon*, Internal Revenue Agent, suspended September, 1951, after testifying before the Senate Investigating Subcommittee in Washington that he received $7,200 in sales fees from the American Lithofold Corporation.

Income Tax Unit, Upper New York division office: *Mordecai Miller*, revenue agent, suspended October, 1951, after refusing to disclose to the King Investigating Committee the extent of his personal wealth or the sources of his outside income on the ground it might tend to incriminate him.

Ralph P. DeMayo, revenue agent, suspended October, 1951, after he testified before the King subcommittee that he failed to report $2,000 in race-bet winnings on his own tax returns.

Jack Neustadt, revenue agent, suspended at the same time, when he refused to disclose to the subcommittee his net worth until he could obtain advice of counsel.

William H. Dettmer Jr., revenue agent, suspended at the same time, after he told the subcommittee he made about $6,500 in five years betting on harness races.

Alcohol Tax Unit, Newark, N. J., district office: *Dominic Vita*, head of the inspection section, suspended October, 1951, pending investigation of undisclosed charges.

Lipe Henslee, Collector of Internal Revenue, Nashville, Tenn., suspended October, 1951, for "personal reasons," pending investigation of his office.

Fired or Resigned Under Fire. *James B. E. Olson*, district supervisor of the Alcohol Tax Unit in New York City, resigned August, 1951, after his outside activities came under investigation by the King subcommittee.

James W. Johnson, Collector of Internal Revenue, New York City Third Collection District, fired August, 1951, for administrative incompetence.

Collector's office, San Francisco, Calif: *W. D. Malloy*, deputy collector, fired February, 1951, in connection with disclosures that he demanded and accepted a bribe in 1946.

Joseph P. Marcelle, Collector of Internal Revenue, New York First District (Brooklyn), resigned by request October, 1951, after discoveries were made of shortages and unsubstantiated deductions in his own income-tax returns.

Resigned. Commissioner of Internal Revenue *George Schoeneman*, resigned June, 1951, on account of ill health.

Assistant Commissioner of Internal Revenue *Daniel Bolich*, resigned August, 1951, on account of ill health.

Deputy Commissioner in charge of the Alcohol Tax Unit *Carroll E. Mealey*, resigned October, 1951, on account of ill health.

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October 11, 1951—St. Louis grand jury indicts Finnegan on charges of accepting bribes and with representing private clients in matters affecting the United States, while serving as a government official.

NEW YORK, N. Y., 1950-51

New York's third collection district, taking in the important upper Manhattan area, has long had the reputation of being one of the most graft-ridden spots in the Bureau. In February, 1950, after a number of employees in that office had been convicted or suspended on bribery charges (see list), Commissioner Schoeneman reported to Secretary Snyder that the Collector in charge, James W. Johnson, lacked the ability to cope with the situation and should be relieved. But no action was taken. In November, 1950, after more employees had been convicted, Schoeneman asked Johnson to resign. He refused. And again the matter rested. In February, 1951, Senator Williams charged the Bureau with lassitude and neglect in failing to replace Johnson. Schoeneman replied that he was seeking to get the Collector to resign but had been unable to do so. Nothing further was heard until August 14, 1951, when Truman ousted Johnson.

Later in August, James B. E. Olson, district supervisor of the Bureau's Alcohol Tax Unit in New York, resigned while the King subcommittee was in that city investigating his affairs. The subcommittee's subsequent public hearings brought the following items to light:

In addition to his government job, Olson was an official and part owner of the J. E. B. Olson Corp., distributor of truck bodies. He had obtained Bureau approval before establishing this connection. The corporation proceeded to sell truck bodies to breweries under Olson's supervision.

Olson also drew a salary and commissions from the American Lithofold Corporation, of which he was a vice-president. This connection the Bureau was not asked to approve. Part of Olson's compensation was earned

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PAKISTAN'S ASSASSINATION

by Krishnalal Shridharani

THE ASSASSINATION of Liaquat Ali Khan, Pakistan's Prime Minister, gave some anxious hours to India. For awhile Indo-Pakistan relations once more hung in the balance.

Several analogies between Mahatma Gandhi's martyrdom three years ago and Liaquat Ali Khan's assassination were advanced in Delhi. Mahatma Gandhi fell to three bullets fired by a Hindu, and so there was no cause for a fresh outbreak of communal frenzy. Liaquat Ali Khan fell to two bullets fired by a fellow-Moslem, and so it was difficult to turn a national tragedy into an international conflagration.

Pakistan, and particularly Indian Moslems, sincerely mourned the murder of the Mahatma. It was quite understandable. In his last months on this earth, Gandhi was leaning over backward to protect Moslems and to secure justice for them. Millions were orphaned when he died.

Conversely, Liaquat Ali Khan's murder was equally sincerely regretted in India. There is no attempt here to compare the man of the millennium with a straightforward political leader. What is significant is that, in spite of the grudges that India had stored up against Liaquat Ali Khan during his lifetime, after his death she was one of the two chief mourners.

The reason was made plain by Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru. He said: "We shouted at each other several times but, whenever we met, we met as friends. The fact remains that we had lived together most of our lives; we had grown up together; we knew each other's strong and weak points." Nehru was revealing one of the most significant political facts about Indo-Pakistan relations. The two countries stand divided today and even arrayed against each other, and yet the leadership in both the countries is in the hands of men who lived and worked together until August 15, 1947.

Another reason why India sincerely mourned the death of a man who during his lifetime was regarded by large masses of men as an enemy of the country was also made poignantly clear by Nehru. He said: "We have complained frequently of speeches made on the Pakistan side by various people including Liaquat Ali Khan, and of other activities, but I think the fact remains that Liaquat Ali Khan was a great steadying influence in Pakistan." This sums up the Delhi mood. Delhi wants Pakistan to be stable and strong and prosperous, because a crumbling neighbor would be a greater headache to India. Delhi also wants the leadership of Pakistan to rest in sober hands. It is the Delhi thesis that although Liaquat Ali Khan displayed callousness at times, he was doing so because he was being pushed by feverish crowds.

In spite of Delhi's sincere regret at the Rawalpindi outrage, India had two lurking fears. One was that some hotheads in Pakistan might exploit the incident in order

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to further incite hatred against Hindus. West Pakistan is swept clear of all Hindus, but in East Pakistan 10 million Hindus are living on the verge of panic even now. It is like a powder keg which, if ignited, through its chain reactions would blow up both the countries. From this point of view, a prominent box item in the *Dawn* of Karachi on October 17 under the name of the editor was unfortunate. It said: "The man who had killed him [Liaquat Ali Khan] was not just an individual. He was the symbol of that deadly enmity of the enemies of Islam who have always wanted to destroy Pakistan." Fortunately, this bitterness was hard to sustain in the light of known facts, and so the search for the scapegoat had to bypass India.

The second fear of Delhi was that some hotheads in Pakistan might exploit the calamity to further excite the already frayed feelings against Afghanistan. For some time now, a cold war has been going on between these two countries. Afghanistan is backing the autonomy movement among Pathans who inhabit the no-man's-land between Pakistan and Afghanistan. Afghanistan also wants a sea outlet in Baluchistan, which at present is under Pakistan's control. Pakistan has instituted certain economic sanctions against Afghanistan, and has refused India permission to operate an air service between Delhi and Kabul.

It was on such a dangerous background that the news was flashed that Said Akbar, the assassin of Pakistan's Prime Minister, is an "Afghan national of Khost in Afghanistan." In the agony of the moment, the possibility that the outrage might have been an outcome of the internal struggle for power in Pakistan itself was ignored. Attempts were made to implicate Afghanistan.

The Afghan Ambassador in India, Dr. Najibulla Khan, is a wide-awake statesman sensitive to all the potentially explosive developments. He lost no time in expressing his country's sorrow at the death of Liaquat Ali Khan and added: "It is sorrowful that some circles in Pakistan should have presented the assassin as an Afghan national residing in Hazara and hired by some culprits to kill the Prime Minister of Pakistan. They also mentioned the departure of the Afghan Legation Counsel from Peshawar for Kabul and thus tried to show some connection between the assassination of the late Nawabzada Liaquat Ali Khan and Afghanistan."

The Afghan Ambassador revealed that Akbar, the assassin, was the son of a notable chief of the Jadran tribe who had revolted against the Afghanistan Government seven years back and was expelled and deprived of Afghan nationality by a resolution of the Parliament. The family found asylum in India, then under the British. It was "receiving salaries from the British Government and enjoyed the same privileges and facilities from the Pakistan Government."

Both Kabul and her representative in Delhi took great pains to disown the assassin because they were convinced that the extremists in Karachi were trying to take advantage of the calamity with a view to starting trouble on the ever-turbulent Northwest Frontier. This fear is not yet completely dissipated, but it seems in Delhi that the danger period is over.

After Liaquat Ali Khan what?—in Pakistan, in Indo-Pakistan relations? This is the query of the moment in Delhi. All agree with Nehru when he says that a "new chapter" has opened in Indo-Pakistan relations; but what will be the theme of that chapter? War or peace, harmony or discord? Nobody is yet able to say with certainty. If changes in the ministerial portfolios in Pakistan are any index to the real shift in power, Delhi has reason for optimism. Khwaja Nazimuddin, who has descended from the throne of Governor General to become the Prime Minister of Pakistan, is regarded as a man of moderate politics. What is more, he comes from East Pakistan, which is more intimately linked with India than is West Pakistan. His first announcement after becoming the Prime Minister was:

> I was very pleased to read in newspapers the statement of Mr. Nehru on the death of Mr. Liaquat Ali Khan that Pakistan and India should resolve all their disputes honorably and in a dignified manner. I agree with every word of Mr. Nehru. It is my cordial desire that pleasant and sincere relations be established between India and Pakistan, and all the differences between the two countries be settled to the satisfaction of both.

By the same token, Ghulam Mohammed, who has been appointed by King George as the new Governor General of Pakistan, is also regarded by Delhi as a man of reason. From this point of view, Delhi is convinced that Indo-Pakistan relations at least will not be worse than they have been.

Yet Delhi is prepared to face a period of uncertainty. It is too early to say whether there is any connection between the assassination of Liaquat Ali Khan and the six-month-old army revolt in Pakistan. There is a group in Pakistan which wants war with India on the question of Kashmir. It remains to be seen how powerful that clique will be after the assassination of Liaquat Ali Khan.

The Graham report on Kashmir to the Security Council has coincided with the sad news from Rawalpindi. It has proved to be more palatable to India than to Pakistan, and this fact in itself might play into the hands of Karachi extremists. Yet, shaken as it is by the great loss, Pakistan cannot afford to be very violent in its reactions to the Graham proposal. Delhi is keeping its fingers crossed.

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HAROLD L. ICKES: *Eden and Bevan Up*

I SUSPECT that, regardless of politics or ideologies, there is a feeling here of satisfaction that Winston Churchill, the man carrying his 76 years as lightly as though they were a feather, has bulldozed his way back into political power. This is not necessarily related to what he may or may not stand for domestically or internationally.

Americans have not forgotten how Churchill, always a gallant and colorful figure, succeeded to power when British morale was at its worst to beat back the ruthless Hitler and save Anglo-American civilization. A mere introduction to, and a brief look at, the two rivals of that day, Neville Chamberlain—the white rabbit—and Winston Churchill—the bulldog—was enough to make most Americans partisans of the bulldog, for the duration of the war, in which their admiration endured and increased.

Even those of other lands who never met or saw Churchill were inspired by his indomitable courage. That he was a great war leader everyone agreed, particularly those deadly enemies of civilization, Mussolini and Hitler. So great was Churchill's stature and mighty his reputation that there was widespread surprise when his party was so decisively beaten in 1945. However, during the interval before his return to power, Churchill's place in history did not diminish. On the whole, as minority leader he enhanced it, and toward that result the books that he has written with such vigor and color have greatly contributed. Only time can tell whether a return to political power at such a time of strain and trouble as this is for beleaguered Great Britain, may not, in the end, detract from a reputation so celebrated and apparently secure. Yet Churchill, being Churchill, could do nothing else than pursue his fate to another conclusion.

Some have thought that the election of 1945, which must have been so disappointing to a victorious warrior, was due to the fact that the people, with their instinctive and passionate desire for peace, felt that their international affairs would be safer in the hands of a party, one of whose fundamental and important tenets is "peace." Churchill was associated in the minds of the people with war. Now that they have voted Churchill back into power, it is not to be supposed that their desire for peace has grown pallid. They wanted peace in 1945, and they want it today just as earnestly. It may be that in 1951 they thought that, with the passage of time and in view of Churchill's evident concern about peace as indicated by his expressed desire to have another chance in helping to forge it, this issue would be as safe with him as if they had continued the Labour Government. And, conceivably, the Conservative Party might devise some means for improving the desperate economic condition of the British people. Whatever was their thinking, they elected enough Conservatives, with the six Liberals who were victorious, to give an anti-Labour margin of 24 seats.

It should not be forgotten that, according to the Gallup Polls, the margin between the Conservatives and the Labourites constantly narrowed from the day when Attlee called the general election until the day of the election itself. Significantly, while the Conservatives have a majority of 18 in the House of Commons, to which the six Liberals elected can be added on "measures clearly conceived in the interest of the country as a whole," the total of the Labour vote was not only the greatest in British history, it was larger than the popular vote of the Conservatives. Some observers of international affairs believe that this large Labour vote means that, above all other considerations, the rank and file of the British want peace—not only "peace in our time," but peace for generations to come. If this is so, then Churchill did not act with his usual astuteness in declaring himself not only Prime Minister but Minister of Defense, while reconstituting his War Cabinet.

So far as the future political trend in Great Britain is concerned, there is additional significance in the fact that the Labour leaders who emerged with enhanced strength and prestige were Aneurin Bevan and those associated with him who had broken with Attlee. This breach was closed during the campaign, but it is hardly to be expected that the rivalry between Attlee and Bevan for party leadership will not be renewed.

Of course Churchill must be given time to work out his domestic policies as well as his foreign ones, especially those relating to Russia and the United States. Americans of today with an interest in world affairs that did not exist even at the time of World War I, have a tremendous stake in the trend of British politics. Bevan is said to be critical of the UN and opposed to the rearmament program we are pushing.

It is to be hoped that Churchill will wear becomingly the laurels that he has so valiantly recaptured. But both he and Attlee, politically speaking at least, are moving toward the twilight, and we would be wise to be aware of the potentialities in the future of Eden and Bevan.

HAROLD L. ICKES

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BOOKS IN REVIEW

ALL THE POWER THAT MONEY CAN BUY

by Clifford J. Durr

THE COMBINATION of Jesse Jones and $50 billion was a formidable one, for Jones liked power, and the control over the spending of so much money carries with it a tremendous amount of political as well as economic power.

Jones was brought to Washington by President Hoover in 1932 and appointed as a Democratic member of the first board of directors of the Reconstruction Finance Corporation. With the coming of the New Deal in 1933, President Roosevelt promoted him to the chairmanship of the board, and from then on the RFC was known, with good reason, as "Jesse Jones's RFC." The Act which created it vested authority over the RFC's operations in a five-man board, but there was never any doubt that Jones ran it. In 1939 he was made Federal Loan Administrator and given general supervisory power over all government lending agencies; in 1940 he was elevated to the President's Cabinet with the joint title of Federal Loan Administrator and Secretary of Commerce. The amount loaned, spent and otherwise disbursed by the RFC and its subsidiaries under Jones's direction and control was more nearly $35 billion than $50 billion, but $35 billion is still a lot of money.

FIFTY BILLION DOLLARS: MY THIRTEEN YEARS WTH THE R.F.C. (1932-1945), by Jesse H. Jones with Edward Angly (Macmillan; $6).

The period from 1932 to 1945 was a most important one. The Great Depression of the late twenties and early thirties, the collapse of our privately owned and operated financial system, and the resulting business paralysis and human distress forced upon us a new concept of government. Of necessity, the federal government recognized and assumed responsibility for the economic health of the nation. In the early forties we had our first experience with total modern warfare and its demands of economic as well as military mobilization. Jones and his RFC were in the thick of it all. They have left a deep impression on the economic structure of the country and, perhaps more than we realize, on present political thinking.

Fifty Billion Dollars tells stories of solid achievement: of the rehabilitation of banks, insurance companies and mortgage companies, and the rescue of depositors and investors from financial ruin; of loans to financially sick railroads and to businesses, large and small; of aid to the victims of flood, tornado and other disasters; of the stockpiling of critical materials and the construction of plants to produce the tools of war. The sheer statistics of the book are impressive, and it is doubtful that any public figure of this generation has a greater record of accomplishment than Jesse Jones—of the things he wanted to do. The book contains much that is valuable to American economic history. It also contains a flavoring of personal vanity and petty malice and even a dash of McCarthyism, and much behind the impressive statistics is left untold.

The reader might get the impression, for example, that Jones put through the Postal Telegraph-Western Union merger after a brief conference or so with the officers of the two companies. He didn't. The job—or at least the government's part of it—was done by the Federal Communications Commission and by Senator MacFarland's subcommittee of the Senate Committee on Interstate Commerce, and it took time and hard work.

Jones neglects to tell us how the RFC's authority to make loans to small businesses remained largely dormant until the agency was stimulated into action by the introduction in the Senate of the Meade bill, designed to permit private banks to do the job through loans guaranteed by the government.

The story of the Defense Plant Corporation, which accounted for almost half of the RFC's expenditures on behalf of the war effort, is considerably less than complete. Jones assigns to this corporation an origin that is largely fictitious, and he skips lightly over its early history, when Emil Schram was its president and John Snyder its executive vice-president. He tells nothing of the efforts made to kill the DPC in its infancy because of the fear of "government ownership" and "overexpansion" of American industry; or of the original "Wright Aeronautical Plan" which he and William S. Knudsen worked out as an alternate plan of financing. It was actually approved by the RFC Directors in August, 1940, but had to be abandoned because it was too cumbersome, and also because of complaints against "giving away" government plants.

The President, Jones says, "continued expressing his desire to see more competition in the aluminum field." He adds, "Whenever I heard from him in this vein I knew that some meddler had been talking to him." He says he told the Truman Committee in September, 1941, that the then planned aluminum capacity of the country was "approximately 1.5 billion pounds of aluminum production annually, Alcoa [Aluminum Company of America] accounting for about half of it." He doesn't tell us, and presumably he didn't tell the committee, that, according to a memorandum which he and Arthur Davis (chairman of the Alcoa board) had drawn up a few weeks before, the planned aluminum capacity was 1.46 billion pounds, of which 760 million pounds was to be owned by Alcoa and an additional 500 million pounds was to be leased to Alcoa by the Defense Plant Corporation, thus placing under Alcoa's control more than 85 percent of the total planned capacity.

Jones says he was asked by the Of-

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fice of Production Management to engage Alcoa to build an aluminum plant at Los Angeles to be operated, after construction, by Bohn Aluminum and Brass Company. This does not accord with the instructions to Jones contained in a letter from the Office of Production Management dated August 4, 1941, and signed by Knudsen. This letter states that Bohn should *design* and *construct* the plant as well as operate it.

Many other interesting stories about the aluminum program could be told by Harold L. Ickes, former Secretary of the Interior, Thurman Arnold, former chief of the Anti-Trust Division of the Department of Justice, and other "meddlers" who were close to the field in 1941, and who saw things a little differently from the way Jones saw them.

Jones assures us he had no political ambitions of his own, and that he was unswerving in his loyalty to Roosevelt. "The President knew," he says, "that I was useful to him and would not sell him down the river." It is difficult to reconcile these professions of loyalty with what he now says about F.D.R.

"Roosevelt was all things to all men." The kind of man who would not hesitate to do a "mean little thing," he saw himself as "a Caesar maybe or as an Alexander the Great"; and "regardless of his oft-quoted statement, 'I hate war,' he was eager to get into the fighting since that would assure a third term."

As a personal favor to the President he saved Elliott Roosevelt from the financial clutches of John A. Hartford of the A & P. He then scavenged Elliott's canceled notes from the wastebasket, "just in case," and now reproduces them in his book.

Reference has been made earlier to the tremendous political and economic power which accompanies the authority to direct the spending of such an enormous sum as $35 billion. This is well demonstrated by Jones's statement that, during the 13 years he was with the RFC, not a single request he made of Congress was refused. Congress turned Roosevelt down on many things he requested. Roosevelt's power lay with the people who elected Congress; Jones's lay with Congress itself.

Though he held appointment under Roosevelt and was a member of his Cabinet for nearly five years, Jones says that, "We did not always see eye to eye" and that, "If he asked me to do something which *in my opinion* we could not or should not do . . . we just didn't do it." (Italics supplied.) Such occasions, he says, "happened only a few times," but we may reasonably assume that they did not always arise over trifles. It might have been expected that, when Jones found he could not conscientiously carry out the President's policies, he would have resigned. But he continued to hold on to his job, and even to accept reappointment, until Roosevelt himself forced his resignation, and he continued at his discretion not to do what the President asked him to do.

The conflict between Jones and Roosevelt cannot be dismissed as the mere clash of two strong personalities. It was a clash of philosophies as well, and involved in it was the old and unresolved conflict between responsible democratic government and concentrated financial and economic power.

Jones's political and economic philosophy is simply stated in his explanation of the cause and cure of the depression. "Obviously," he says, "a distressed country could not support an unsound banking system, but a sound banking system could support a distressed country." In other words, save the financial structure and you save all. Nothing more is required for a healthy economy and a prosperous people, at least nothing more need be or should be done by the government. Jones's assurances that he was no New Dealer are hardly necessary. Roosevelt was the symbol and embodiment of the New Deal. Jones placed his emphasis upon the top of the political and economic structure; Roosevelt placed his upon the base—the people themselves.

The struggle between Jones and Roosevelt is the fight between Hamilton and Jefferson carried over into a new century and a bigger battleground, and fought with more powerful weapons.

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CRITIC AND GOSSIP

MEMORIES & PORTRAITS, by Ivan Bunin. Translated by Vera Traill and Robin Chancellor (Doubleday; $3).

THERE ARE MANY interesting, even brilliant, pages in this album of sketches, but one may doubt whether the book as a whole will add much to the reputation of a writer who, since the death of Chekhov, has been unquestionably the finest craftsman of Russian prose. Bunin is aware, perhaps exaggeratedly, of his position, by birth and achievement, as a high dignitary of Russian letters. One finds in the little volume: "The ancient and noble family from which I am descended"; a listing of prizes won; the election as one of the Honorary Academicians "who corresponded in rank to the 'Immortals' of the French Academy"; the rather pompous description of the Nobel Prize ceremonies (the prize was awarded to Bunin in 1933), including these memorable words which the laureate spoke in French, "with a low bow," and which were "drowned in applause": "Sire, I beg Your Majesty's pleasure to accept the homage of my profound and respectful gratitude."

One of the best chapters of the book is devoted to Bunin's venture in Tolstoyism and to his meetings with the great master; Bunin has for Tolstoy a boundless love and admiration, but he failed to learn from him his sense of the futility of fame, of rank and of human achievement.

Like Tolstoy, Bunin is intolerant of intellectual fraud, of artistic fakes, of charlatanism; but while Tolstoy, the ferocious iconoclast, was always augustly dignified, even when he committed injustices in his quest for ultimate integrity, Bunin's attacks on many of his contemporaries are too often venomous and vengeful (especially in a section, omitted in the translation, in which Bunin proceeds to a wholesale massacre of the entire Symbolist movement).

It is always useful to question established reputations, be it that of Gorky, deified in the Soviet period and seated in a strongly guarded Pantheon, of Chekhov's plays or of the Moscow Art Theatre. This Bunin does; he also sheds some rather crude light on the story of

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Alexei Tolstoy, the repentant emigré; but, and this is a case in point, he adds nothing to his argument when he questions the legitimacy of Alexei's birth.

Vladimir Mayakovsky, the "so-called poet" as he puts it, is Bunin's pet hatred. He is condemned on the grounds of personal misdemeanors, of his scandalous behavior during the Futurist period, and, most of all, for his allegiance to the Soviet regime. Mayakovsky's art is dismissed purely and simply. One might have expected such a student of the human soul as Bunin to attempt an explanation of the suicide, at the age of 37, of a man in whom he sees nothing but a cynically profiteering brute. But the death of the most glorified poet of Soviet Russia has no significance for Bunin. What he does have to convey to the reader is the information (hardly first hand) that "in the last years of his life he [Mayakovsky] wore only silk underwear. . . ."

"I was born too late," writes Bunin; his anachronism accounts for much of the charm of his fiction, but vitiates some of his judgments. Bunin complains of having been the witness of too much history; with a melancholy humor he compares the fate of Russians of his generation with that of Noah, who had but one deluge to endure. It is true that there have been too many floods, but what Bunin lacks is a sense of the tragic. Recent history is for him but a series of misdeeds which disrupted a world in which he lived a pleasant and civilized life. And he is at his best when he writes of this world.

The most successful portrait in the present collection is probably that of Chekhov; these pages (written in 1914) are admirably sensitive, warm and vivid. The more recent chapter on Kuprin, containing some very fine literary criticism, is also excellent; so are the pages on Chaliapin, on Kropotkin, and some others. Bunin's writing is always superb, but the translators fail in some instances to render the terseness and directness of his prose. To quote one example, Bunin writes that Alexei Tolstoy was (this is a literal translation) "a keen grabber, but also a generous squanderer." The translators give the following spaghetti-form version: "He

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was in fact exceptionally clever and unscrupulous in looking after his own interest, though at the same time he was reckless and generous in spending money." LEON STILMAN

Leon Stilman was born in Leningrad and lived in Paris for 20 years. He is a lecturer in the Department of Slavic Languages of Columbia University.

CENTURY OF NEWS

THE STORY OF THE NEW YORK TIMES, by Meyer Berger (Simon & Schuster; $5).

RAYMOND OF THE TIMES, by Francis Brown (Norton; $5).

THESE NOTES on the books which commemorate the 100th anniversary of the New York *Times* may be a trifle sentimental. But perhaps that is permissible in one who never worked on the staff of the good gray lady of Forty-third Street. To some of us the *Times* may seem a little dull. Like so many companions of our childhood, youth and maturity, it is a little hard to get along with. But there can be no mistake about the fact that the last ten decades would have been less enlightened without this vast and complete newspaper.

As could be expected, the volumes by Meyer Berger and Francis Brown are not very critical. The former is one of the ablest reporters on the *Times* and the latter is editor of the Sunday book-review section. To the credit of Arthur Hays Sulzberger and the *Times* management in general, however, neither book is a dreary, official document. Both are readable; both are honest. Their pages, like the files of the *Times*, are the history of the United States since 1851. Perhaps the pages lack discernment, but nobody can say that they are incomplete.

Two really great men shaped the destiny of the New York *Times* as we know it today. One was Adolph Ochs, who built the newspaper from financial obscurity. The other was that genius of a managing editor, Carr V. Van Anda. Old-timers in the newspaper business will never forget either of them. Ochs had little formal education and throughout his life was in awe of college-trained men. He was no writer. He was, though, a managerial wizard and his integrity was unquestioned.

Above all, the publisher of the *Times* was an enthusiast. His newspaper, as it developed to greatness, was—he felt—the most wonderful one in the world. His staff was the most able. It is as follows that some of them remember him. It would be close to midnight. The first edition had come from the presses. Ochs would eagerly read its damp pages.

"Ah!" he would say happily, "I do really believe that this is the best issue we have ever put out."

He said that nearly every night. The great newspaper was his life and his consuming pride.

And Carr Van Anda of the mathematical mind, the insatiable curiosity and the never failing thirst for news? One can merely say of Van Anda, as Berger makes clear, that he is safely enrolled among the immortals of the Fourth Estate along with Marse Henry Watterson and Frank Cobb of the New York *World*. Like Ochs, Berger writes, Van Anda "scorned the sensational, cheap or tawdry appeal." They made their policy pay, too. The *Times* may have been stuffy. It covered the news, however, or all of it that was fit to print. Competitor after competitor died despite its glaring headlines.

Francis Brown's book on Henry Jarvis Raymond is, of course, strictly a biography. It is interesting to learn the degree to which the first editor impressed his personality on the paper. The New York *Daily Times*, as it was first called, proposed to print all the news. It would be fair and without bias. But those were different days. Henry Raymond was up to his neck in active politics, the mere thought of which would horrify Arthur Sulzberger.

Those were the days of personal journalism, when Horace Greeley, James Gordon Bennett and the other giants flung their bolts at one another.

"Personal abuse every editor anticipated and Raymond was no stranger to it," says Brown.

So Bennett called the *Times* a "penny abolition paper" when it resisted the spread of slavery, and the editor was "likened to a monkey, prying into everything, continually chattering over small discoveries, and always very busy about very insignificant trifles." The *Times*, added the publisher of the *Herald*, was "bereft of all virility and strength."

Well, the New York *Herald* is dead now; so are the New York *World* and the *Globe* of beloved memory. So is the New York *Sun*, the passing of which nobody will regret. The *Times* goes on. Sometimes difficult to read and rarely marked by excellence of writing, it has always been indispensable. The *Times* may well boast that it is a journal of record. Its record is very good indeed. HENRY F. PRINGLE

Books in Brief

Under Whatever Sky, by Irwin Edman (Viking; $3).

For the past seven years, Irwin Edman has been contributing to each quarterly issue of the *American Scholar* a handful of lightly moral essays inspired by the encounters, occupations and accidents of his active but tranquil life. He has here collected 125 of them in a volume of 250 pages. In addition to the obvious virtue of brevity, they display a broad interest in the pursuits and preoccupations of the day; an unshakable, if somewhat rueful, reasonableness; an unexceptionable taste and a modesty inspired by humor and a proper sense of worth. But it must also be said that these sermons are more sensible than profound and that, considering the alert curiosity of their author's mir they are surprisingly repetitious. It undoubtedly a refreshment to come upon a page or so of Edman every three months in an otherwise solemn periodical, but this volume is over-abundant in tidbits. It becomes clear, for one thing, that the author is too much concerned with his not unusual status of middle-aged teacher; it becomes oppressive, for another, to encounter so many observations with which no sane reader could disagree.

Man's Vast Future: A Definition of Democracy, by A. Powell Davies (Farrar, Straus and Young; $1.50).

New Republic readers are already familiar with the philosophy of the Rev. A. Powell Davies, the popular clergyman of All Souls Unitarian Church in Washington, D. C. This unpretentious little book restates his belief in democracy as a faith, a way of life and a universal purpose. He recognizes the dangers rising from the present necessities of the Cold

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War, but believes the answer is more democracy, not less. "Until democracy is ascendant in the rest of the world, it cannot be made secure—and neither can anything else—within the present democracies."

The Health of the Mind, by J. H. Rees, M.D. (Norton; $2.75).

The author, director of the World Federation for Mental Health, has written an extremely simple introduction to psychosomatic problems and their psychiatric treatment. While there is little in his book that will be new to those with even a smattering of information, his recapitulation is clear and comprehensive.

Nutrition and Alcoholism, by Roger J. Williams (University of Oklahoma Press; $2).

Roger J. Williams, a biochemist who has been associated with the development of several of the vitamins, believes that an improperly balanced diet is responsible for various human ills. This little book of 82 pages applies his theory to alcoholism. He thinks that the alcoholic can often be greatly aided by adjustment of diet, especially as to vitamins, such adjustment being suited to the individual case, and that if this is done it may even be possible for an alcoholic to become a moderate drinker. Most of the authorities in the field do not, as yet, accept Professor Williams' findings.

ON THE AIR

Two Cheers

ANY MONTH NOW, your favorite TV station will flash onto your screen a "seal of approval" certifying the outlet's devotion to community responsibility, testifying to the fact that its owner subscribes to and is conforming with the industry's self-imposed "code of program standards." Then you'll be able to relax. From that moment on, we are assured, good taste shall prevail on the sight-sound air, and public service will be the motto. Your welfare—and the nation's—rests in the guarantee that the broadcaster entitled to the "seal of approval," in the words of the code's preamble:

. . . [is] thoroughly conversant with the educational and cultural needs and desires of the community.

. . . Affirmatively seeks out the responsible and accountable educational and cultural institutions of the community with a view toward providing opportunities for the instruction and enlightenment of the viewers.

. . . Provides for reasonable experimentation in the development of programs specifically directed to the advancement of the community's culture and education.

In the past, there have been several codes for the guidance of the radio industry. I remember the last tablets of the laws promulgated about four years ago at Atlantic City, when the National Association of Broadcasters gathered there still in happy ignorance of the magnitude of the television revolution so close at hand. It was an excellent code; in fact it was so good that NBC, fearing it might lose its reputation for outstanding piety in an atmosphere of universal cleanliness and fervor, decided to out-code the code. The new Draconic laws were silent on the advisability of purging the airwaves of murder, horror and exotic violence during the hours the young might be warming themselves at their loudspeakers. NBC announced, therefore, that no such distressing material should be distributed from its studios before the hour of juvenile curfew, set, as I recall, at 9:30. But the television cloud grew dark on the horizon, and radio could not afford the luxury of asepsis. The NAB code was never ratified and NBC soon brought back its anthropoids to curdle the children's hour.

Now TV finds it cannot afford to be without a code. Educators have been saying some nasty things about the new medium, even to the point of coming right out with the notion that broadcasters are misusing the airwaves and insisting that education be given its own crack at TV on specially allocated channels. Here and there, efforts have been made to organize the audiences—the latest and perhaps the most promising instance being the formation of the National Association for Better Radio and Television, discussed in this space last September. Sen. William Benton (D, Conn.) organized a bipartisan movement in Congress to establish a National Advisory Board, appointed by the President and instructed to make annual suggestions for the improvement of radio and TV programming in line with the legally required "public interest, convenience and necessity." Benton's move collapsed, but everyone has taken up television criticism these days. Something had to be done; the TV industry has done it.

A twelve-man committee worked several months on the new code. Heading the group is Robert D. Swezey, now in charge of WDSU, New Orleans, an accomplished citizen who was once executive vice-president of Mutual. The preamble from which I quoted above is proof that Swezey and his team understand the rudiments of public relations; the Atlantic City radio code didn't bother with a prologue of lofty sentiments.

The country's television tycoons gathered in Chicago a couple of weeks ago and—with only three abstaining and none voting nay—adopted the code substantially as drawn by the Swezey committee. Now it goes to the board of

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directors of the National Association of Radio and Television Broadcasters for formal ratification.

A six-man board, chosen from among broadcasters, will administer the code and will see to it that crime and sex are never glorified; religion is respected; decency and decorum observed in dance, song and gag; culture nourished; advertising prevented from hogging the show; controversial public issues aired with fairness to all responsible protagonists. There are many good things in the 30-page document agreed to in Chicago. And no one should doubt that the Swezey boys mean every syllable—including the outlawing of the Bronx cheer as a sound effect and reference to any man as a tomcat. Seriously I say—what the code would forbid me to utter facetiously on the TV air—Praise the Lord! But just as realistically, I must add: Let's keep our fingers crossed—and our audiences organized.

SAUL CARSON

THEATRE

Contrasts

IN SHOW BUSINESS only what makes money counts. The theatre has other perspectives. *Remains to Be Seen*, by Howard Lindsay and Russel Crouse, is a commercial success; its importance for the critic is less than slight. (One would not ask a self-respecting book critic to pass judgment on the literary equivalent of such a play.) Christopher Fry's *A Sleep of Prisoners* is not intended to be commercial—profits, if any, are assigned to benevolent causes—but it is of interest to the critic and to all of the people concerned with serious expression in the theatre.

Remains to Be Seen is a fairly clever farce-melodrama: a little cheap, a little obvious, but not without its entertaining moments, its showshop shrewdness, its facile pastime benefits. It is ably cast and deftly done, and one need not trouble one's soul or skin about it one way or another.

I have previously written about *A Sleep of Prisoners* (*NR*, June 11). Fault may be found with it—as I did in my review from London—but I do not believe that the play can properly be charged with obscurity. Its main drift is utterly clear, and it is perhaps the most sincere and concise of Fry's plays. It is a mystically pacifist play. It may be described as philosophically quietist. Fry is averse to all shibboleths that lead to violence, to disruptive and self-righteous action. "To be strong beyond all action is the strength to have," he says.

This is not necessarily a counsel of ease. It is often harder to forbear than to rush passionately to one side or the other. It takes will and freedom of spirit to maintain a contemplative attitude and to accept life. "Thank God our time is now when wrong comes to face us everywhere / never to leave us till we take / the largest stride of soul men ever took. / The enterprise is exploration into God."

My objection to *A Sleep of Prisoners* is that it is not truly a drama. The theme is poetically *illustrated* by a recounting of Biblical moments in which brother kills brother and father slays son only to lament the tragedy to the end of time. Because of the play's lack of genuine dramatization, Fry's thought appears sentimental—except for the dignity of its statement, almost wishy-washy. The quietism of a Mahatma Gandhi, for example, is a stern form of action, whereas Fry's philosophy could easily deteriorate to a kind of rather sweet pietism.

Still we should not be too ready to dismiss the play. It represents the honest belief of a sensitive artist, a writer of increasing distinction. The verse is less brilliant and pretty than that of Fry's earlier plays, but it has a greater cleanness and precision—and that leads to truer poetry than the way of pyrotechnical wordplay.

The difference between the London and the New York productions of *A Sleep of Prisoners* has to do with the differences in the churches in which the play was given. The St. James Protestant Episcopal Church in New York is so high-vaulted that it is difficult to hear anywhere but close to the (altar) stage. For this reason the excellent cast is forced to devote so much effort to its articulation that some of the acting values are lost. In the theatre, which is a collective art, every element, including the architectural, plays a positive role.

I prefer *Music in the Air*, the revival of the Kern-Hammerstein musical of 1932, and the Spanish Ballet of José Greco to any of the other "light" shows I have recently seen. *Music in the Air*, with its charming score, seems to me as original today as it must have been nineteen years ago. It has no set numbers but a kind of casual musical atmosphere, as if music were part of our daily environment. The show, thank heaven, has no oomph, bang, zip or zowie. It is friendly, old fashioned, jolly, serene. And Charles Winninger embodies all of its best qualities in his person.

Glad Tidings, by Edward Mabley, has a trite plot: the glad tidings brought to its journalist "hero" is that of a child born of an affair with a temperamental foreign actress almost twenty years before. Despite this, there are several good scenes in which the new playwright shows a pleasant sense of character. Melvyn Douglas plays with neat comedy skill; Signe Hasso has a colorful personality which ought to be put to more ambitious uses. Our reviewers are usually harsh with such a play—they talk as if we had all outgrown this sort of thing—but there are many people still who might enjoy it (it would surely be a success in London) and we might as well say so.

Faithfully Yours, which was called *Le Complexe de Philemon* in Paris, is a little worse here than there. The French find it easier to laugh at bad jokes about psychoanalysis than we do because psychoanalysis is still unfamiliar to them. I felt a little more tolerant, too, when I saw the play abroad, not only because it was better acted, but because when I left the theatre I was not on Forty-ninth Street but on the rue de la Gaieté.

Anywhere in the world I would enjoy the Spanish dances of José Greco. They provide a truly pleasurable evening in the theatre. There is movement, color, verve here, trim, proud, sensuous and sharp.

HAROLD CLURMAN

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(Continued from page 14)

by procuring new accounts for Lithofold labels and other printed matter, with various liquor companies. Joseph D. Nunan, former Commissioner of Internal Revenue in Washington and one-time collector in Brooklyn, was associated with Olson in these activities.

Olson admittedly allowed Louis E. Pokrass, ex-bootlegger and an alleged business associate of Frank Costello, to retain a federal liquor dealer's permit although governing regulations called for its revocation. The permit had been issued in the first place after Olson's superior, Carroll E. Mealey, Deputy Commissioner in charge of the Alcohol Tax Unit, had intervened in Pokrass' behalf. (On October 5, Mealey resigned his post on grounds of ill health.)

Also in New York the subcommittee selected several revenue agents in the Upper New York division of the Income Tax Unit to "test answer" a net-worth questionnaire then being devised for Bureau personnel by the subcommittee. Two of the agents refused to divulge their worth and two others attributed substantial outside income to success at the race track. These four have now been suspended (see list). At the subcommittee's behest, the Bureau, which opposed the idea, is now distributing net-worth questionnaires to its employees.

BOSTON, MASS., 1951

Collector Denis W. Delaney, a Lawrence, Mass., builder and contractor, was suspended on June 27, 1951, dismissed on July 16, and indicted in September for bribery and false certification of tax payments. One of the charges is that he accepted a $2,500 bribe from Daniel Friedman, a partner in a New York insurance firm called Estate Research Bureau, to influence his decision in a $140,000 tax-delinquency case then pending against Maxwell Shapiro, owner of a Massachusetts woolen company.

Evidence developed by the King subcommittee shows considerable "exchange" of this kind between Friedman and Delaney. Three Massachusetts businessmen, including Shapiro, have sworn under oath that they paid Friedman a total of over $20,000 to help them "settle" tax delinquencies, and that Friedman in turn delivered some, though meager, assistance. Delaney received large checks from Estate Research Bureau following these payments to Friedman.

These details have linked Delaney's sphere of interest with that of former Collector James P. Finnegan of St. Louis, who also received payments from Estate Research Bureau, in one case shortly after the Shapiro-Friedman transaction was completed.

NEWARK, N. J., 1951

Internal Revenue Agent Walter Doxon, of the Newark, N. J., Income Tax Unit, was suspended September 24, pending an investigation of his affairs, after testifying before the Senate Investigating Subcommittee in Washington (it was probing the RFC matters) that he introduced representatives of the ubiquitous American Lithofold Corporation to prospective clients and received $7,200 in sales fees.

DETROIT, MICH., 1951

In October, the Senate Small Business Subcommittee on Gray Markets ran across evidence which raised doubts concerning the probity of agents in the Bureau's Special Intelligence Unit in Detroit.

Agents Joseph J. Weyn (who handled major steel investigations in the Detroit area) and Frank Cashman each netted $1,120 in connection with the sale of 100 tons of waste steel which they purportedly found in a Michigan tool shop. The buyer was Herman Golanty, a steel dealer of questionable background who recently settled a $50,000 government suit for overcharges. Weyn and his superior, Henry R. Sunball, have both acknowledged receiving favors from Golanty. The subcommittee turned over its evidence to the Bureau, which agreed to investigate.

In the case of all seven cities the surface has only been scratched.

[This is the first in a series of articles on the current tax scandals. The second, written by Richard Hyer of the San Francisco Call-Bulletin, *will tell the story of politics, corruption and taxes in California.]*

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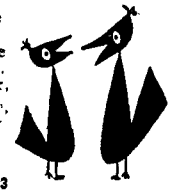

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(—T.R.B.)

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